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perform in the systematic village magic: the care of divine heir- looms too dangerous for less pure people to handle. Conse- quently, in the strict communities of the Bali Aga, sexual licence on the part of a boy or girl is a crime against the village magic and is proportionately punished.

This is not the case, however, among the ordinary Balinese villages, where boys and girls lead a freer sexual life. There mat- ters of sex are not solemn, mysterious prohibitions, and it is nat- ural that in coming of age they should continue to have sexual relations that started in the character of play, incompletely of course, during childhood.

The average Balinese does not attach great importance to virginity and it is not difficult for a divorcee, a widow, or even a woman who has committed adultery to marry again. Low- caste girls have many occasions to meet boys and often carry on affairs, kept secret because of natural shyness. The Balinese are extremely discreet in their intimate relations; lovers are never seen together in public, and it would be unpardonable manners for a man to make insinuations to a girl in public. It is not un- usual for girls to take the lead and " make eyes " (*saling sulang*) at boys, or give encouragement to a shy suitor with some sort of small present.

Girls of high caste are usually chaperoned and their chances of meeting boys are considerably fewer. For the princes, whose mentality is more " Oriental " than that of the less prejudiced average Balinese, a virgin (*gentan*, in the absolute sense of the word) is highly desirable. Where feudalism still holds sway, a prince may order a subject of his to reserve his pretty daughter for him when she comes of age, and there are cases of Satrias and Brahmanas who kidnapped a girl of their own caste immediately after the first menstruation. Such cases are shocking to most Balinese, however, and there are rules and penalties against pre- mature marriages. In general, the average marriageable age is eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls. A noble Balinese friend once told me that he could tell a virgin at first sight from the

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826 texture of her skin, the shape of her breasts, the muscles under her arms, and even the shape of the mouth; but he added sadly that now that so many girls wear blouses it has become more difficult to tell!

●584 Young people meet at the market, at harvesting-time, when

[444]

Dagang

everybody helps to cut the rice, at the river, and so forth, but especially at the frequent village celebrations and nocturnal theatrical performances, when the boys meet their friends and make new conquests. An attraction at all festivals is the pretty dagangs, girls who run small stands of food, drinks, cigarettes, and *sirih*. They sit behind little tables illuminated by petrol lamps, scraping coconuts, grinding sauces, and serving drinks, surrounded by a circle of admirers who squat on the ground, joking with them on the pretext of buying a pennyworth of pea-

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584

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nuts or a package of cigarettes. Some girls know that it is best to 584 ●
remain cold and indifferent, attending to their business, while [444]
others are gay and friendly and can answer cleverly to the boys'
wisecracks.

To the Balinese, the average features of Nordics are not to be 826
admired; sharp noses, prominent chins, white skin, blue eyes,

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blond hair, and so forth are distasteful to them. They compare blond hair to that of albinos', but red hair is still worse, since only witches and some devils have red hair. Only dogs, monkeys, and evil characters have long, prominent teeth and hair over their bodies. For the Balinese taste, the skin should be smooth, clear, and devoid of superfluous hair, which they call *bulú*, " feathers," to differentiate it from the " proper " hair of the head, which is called *rambut*. The hair of women should be thick, black, and glossy; goddesses are represented with hair down to their knees. The complexion should not be too dark and a girl with a golden

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unhappy for a while even as among us, but soon he will forget her and fall in love with a less recalcitrant girl.

Should the man be accepted, the affair may be developed into attachment that will in most cases lead to marriage. It is not infrequent that the couple may live together – *gendak* – before marriage, although not exactly in sin, since *gendak* is permitted as a sort of a trial marriage, not yet made legal in public and before the gods. Often in a prearranged marriage the couple is allowed *gendak*, and there are regulations that protect the woman against desertion and that make children born in the *gendak* period legal. Even among the more puritanical Bali Agas *gendak* appears in the traditional village law, as in the following excerpt from the law of the village of Lumbuan in the Bangli mountains:

". . . the *desa* orders a man accused of intimacy with a woman to take her as wife, making the offerings and ceremonies mentioned above. Should the man refuse to marry her, he has to pay the *penyeheb* (a roast pig) and *tumbakan* (a cow), while the woman will pay only the *tumbakan* to clear her impurity and the pollution of the village (*sebel*). Should there result a child, it belongs to the woman. If it is not known who the man was, the woman is responsible and must provide the *penyeheb* and *tumbakan* within an allotted time." (Bawanagara, T. 11, No. 8/9, 1933.)

This attitude must not be interpreted as one of promiscuity; the Balinese like to marry young, and a man after love has usually marriage in view. However, a girl is not too easily persuaded and puts off her suitors, often too long, and the boy is either bored and leaves her or is obliged to use stronger methods.

Shy people who are after success in love may employ the services of professional matchmakers (*tjeti*) or those of a magician to make a reluctant girl yield. To appear beautiful in the eyes of a desired person certain amulets are employed, most often ancient Javanese bronze disks with a hole in the centre like Chinese coins, which are carried on the belt. Those used by men (*pipis ardjuna*) have an image in low relief of their semi-divine,

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584 romantic hero Ardjuna, while those used by women are the so-
832 called " moon-coins " (*pipis bulan*). The moon-coins I had occasion to observe seemed to me simple old *kepengs* in which the border was not properly centred, producing an accidental design like a new moon. These coins, in reality ancient amulets, are believed to have been made by the gods and not by humans; I

Amulet of Love Magic (*Ardjuna Coin*)

was told that they are found lying around the temple at night if it is the wish of the gods to present one with a magic coin. The lucky owners often lend them or rent them to prospective lovers for rather high prices. They are kept wrapped in a little rag, covered with ointments and flower petals so that they will not " die " and become useless.

In more difficult cases an infatuated person has recourse to powerful love magic (*guna pengasih*); incantations that resemble other sorts of secret magic and that consist of a charm (*serana*) and a spoken formula (*mantra*). Typical charms are twin coconuts or twin bananas, and even more effective are the saliva of a snake, the tears of a child, the oil from a coconut that has been dragged around by a child, or that from a coconut tree

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under which a pregnant woman has sat. "The silken net" (*i djaring sutra*), "the crawling serpent" (*i naga bilad*), and the "constant weeping" (*i tuntung tanggis*) are among the names of formulas used to obtain a difficult girl. The desired person must be anointed inadvertently with the above-mentioned charms after the corresponding magic formula has been recited over them.

There are other ways to get a girl, such as the *pengatjap*, "stealing her thoughts through concentrated mental effort" (*kenáh*); thinking of the beloved at all times: when eating, putting food aside for her, and on going to sleep calling her mentally until she is made so unhappy and uncomfortable that she cannot work, eat, or sleep until she is with the man who operates the magic.

I was told of a special magic way to obtain a girl for "only one night," which is to remain throughout the night looking intensely at the flame of a lamp made out of a new coconut, freshly made oil, and a new wick, remembering the girl's face. On the following day she will not be able to refuse the man. A girl will also fall in love with a man who succeeds in feeding her a *sirih* leaf (to chew with betel-nut) on which has been inscribed an image of a *tjintia*, "the Unthinkable God," with enormously exaggerated sexual organs.

Besides these innocent and harmless procedures, there is a black and evil sort of magic (*pengiwa*) when a man or a woman wants to take revenge on a lover; to tie a hair of the victim to a bird which is afterwards released will make the person lose his mind. Another way to make a lover go insane is to make an image of the person using something that belonged to him: a piece of his underclothes, hair, nail-clippings, or earth from his footprint, but with the head either at the place of the sex or at the feet; the whole then inscribed with magic syllables and a formula said over the image.

Menstrual blood anointed on the head of a man infallibly destines him to be henpecked.

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839 land. Bestiality is so horrifying to the Balinese that they can only explain it as bewitchment on the part of the man, to whom the animal appears as a beautiful woman.

MARRIAGE

184 58 As with everything in Bali, marriage customs differ from district to district and from caste to caste; from marriages by free choice, and others prearranged by the parents, to kidnapping with violence. Often what is commonplace in one village is unknown in another, and no general rule can be established that applies to the entire island. I shall attempt, therefore, to give only a general outline of marriage practices and to note what we had opportunity to observe in the districts in which we lived: Badung and Gianyar. It is in detail, however, that the ceremonies vary; the fundamental principles for the different sorts of marriage remain the same everywhere.

584 583 *Ngrorod.* In Bali the honeymoon usually precedes the wedding; the average boy in love with a girl makes his marriage arrangements directly with her, and outside of his father, perhaps, and a few friends from whom he needs help, he keeps his intentions secret until the day, previously agreed upon between the boy and girl, when he will steal her. Shy couples simply run away together to the house of a friend, as a rule in another village, where they spend their honeymoon in hiding. But the Balinese love spectacular kidnappings. The girl arranges for her clothes to be taken secretly to their future hide-out, and on the appointed day she is captured somewhere on the road, in the fields, or in the river by the kidnapping party, led by her suitor. She is expected to kick and bite her abductors in sham self-defence, and although there may be witnesses, no one would dream of interfering, unless they are relatives of the girl, in which case they are supposed to put up a great fight. In Den Pasar it is stylish to rush the girl away by hired motor-car.

584 683 At her home, as soon as her disappearance is discovered, her

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[532]

Kidnapping (*from a Balinese painting*)

enraged father is supposed to run up the alarm-drum-tower and 584 683
beat the *kulkul*, asking who took his daughter; but of course no one knows. Even a searching party may be organized simply for the fun of it; after a while they return breathless but empty-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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584 handed. Should it be known, however, that the girl has been
683 abducted against her will (*melagandang*), the pursuit is real and the kidnapper may be badly beaten and even killed if caught by the girl's relatives. In Badung even forceful kidnapping is legal if the girl is taken in daytime and not from her house; then, as often happens, if the girl chooses to remain with her forced husband, the marriage is legalized by the proper offerings and ceremonies and by the payment of a stipulated amount to her family; otherwise the marriage is annulled and the boy fined or jailed.

585 Special offerings (*sesayut tabúh ráh* and *makala-kalaán*) have been taken beforehand to the hide-out, and once safely there, it is law that the couple must consummate the wedding before the offerings have wilted. This is extremely important as these offerings alone make the marriage binding. They constitute what is called "the small legalization" (*masakapan alit*), and without them the union would be considered an ordinary, illegal affair. Thus the couple is made husband and wife before the gods, and it appears as if the elaborate ceremonies (*makasapan, nganten*) that follow every wedding are rather the official, public confirmation of it. They consist in the eternal purification by a priest's prayers and holy water, plus additional magic acts to ensure the couple a lucky and fruitful marriage. The great marriage ceremony is supposed to take place within the customary forty-two days after the kidnapping, but in some cases it has been performed considerably later if there is not enough money immediately available for the expensive festivities.

The couple remains in hiding, going out as little as possible, until the ransom money has been paid to the girl's father, all arrangements are concluded, and a lucky day established for the return of the couple. Representatives of the boy – his father or his friends – go, if possible on the day the girl is taken, to inform her parents and to try to placate them, since tradition demands of them to appear outraged although they may approve of the boy. The girl's relatives do not participate in the marriage ceremonies, and it is significant that after marriage the girl takes leave

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of her ancestral gods and adopts her husband's. The emissaries go to the girl's house wearing krisses and in refined language they point to the virtues of the boy, to his good intentions, and to the advantages of the union. Reluctantly the girl's father gives in, but not until the amount of the "bride-purchase" money (*patumbas wadon*) has been settled. I was told in Den Pasar that the sum may vary from ten thousand to forty thousand *kepeng*, eight to thirty-two *ringgit* (silver dollars)[6] or even to as much as a hundred *ringgit*, which in normal times would be equivalent to 125,000 *kepeng*, quite a fortune for people that buy with *kepeng* the daily necessities of life.[7]

Mapadik. It may happen that the head of a prominent family of caste requests the daughter of a friend or relative as wife for his son to bring two great families closer together by a bond of blood. Such prearranged marriages are decided upon at times when the boy and the girl are still children, and the marriage is performed as soon as possible after the girl comes of age and before they fall in love with someone else. This must not be misconstrued as a form of the much publicized child-marriage of India; such marriages are rare, they do not take place until the girl is a woman, there is no law that enforces them, and there is

[6] Normally a *ringgit* is worth one gold dollar: two and a half guilders. There were 500 *kepeng* in one guilder in 1930, although in 1933 the Dutch guilder had gone up to 700 *kepeng*.

[7] In Buleléng brides are more expensive than in South Bali; Lieffrink stated the price there as from 400 to 600 *ringgit*, and Van Eck put it between 100 guilders to 600 (or from 40 to 240 *ringgit*), but Dr. Korn, the latest authority, mentions in his *Adatrecht* that in Balinese law documents the sum is seldom above 20,000 *kepeng* (16 *ringgit*), and consequently the price would be lower for a girl of low caste. The price is further depreciated for widows, the divorced, and so forth, while the rate goes up to foreigners, for palace women, or in case of forceful kidnapping. Perhaps the rate is exaggerated and it is possible that brides are getting cheaper with the gradual impoverishment of Bali. It is not without reason that Korn believes that the ransom money cannot be taken literally as a price for the girl, since the trousseau she takes along is often more valuable than the money paid for her. The ransom for a widow is not paid to her parents but to her parents-in-law. In prearranged marriages (*mapadik*) there is no ransom money, since many presents and personal services are made by the bridegroom to the girl's father. There is no money paid if the bride's father has no male descendants and he wishes to adopt his son-in-law as a *sentana*, a legitimate son for the purpose of inheritance. Korn suggests that the money is paid rather as ransom to the house gods and not to the parents.

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584 always divorce to undo an undesirable union. Besides, if a girl suspects she is to be married against her will, she can arrange secretly to be kidnapped by a boy she likes. The *mapadik* marriage, or marriage by request, takes place more often with willing grown boys and girls of the nobility, to whom it is always desirable to marry within their caste, being of course more dignified than the customary *ngorod*, marriage by elopement. The father of Gusti's second wife, a noble chief (*pungawa*), once lamented that all his three daughters had been stolen in *ngorod* and that his hopes that Sagung might have been asked for were frustrated when Gusti took her. *Mapadik* marriage is in general the old-fashioned, respectable way for the feudal aristocracy to marry and perhaps originated with them, although, curiously enough, it is still prevalent among the Bali Agas of the mountains.

Arrangements for the *mapadik* are started by the boy's father, taking a ceremonial present of clothes, a ring, food, and *sirih* to the girl's relatives, who accept by chewing the *sirih* and giving in return a present in the girl's name. These acts establish the marriage contract, although it can be dissolved by infidelity on the part of either of those concerned. The boy continues to visit at the house of his future bride, bringing presents regularly and performing small services for his prospective father-in-law.

[836] It is not uncommon that a betrothed couple may be permitted prenuptial intercourse (*gendak*) until the time comes for the official legalization, the great marriage festival. Among the aristocracy, to whom the girl's virginity is of importance, the defloration of the bride acquires a certain ritualistic, barbaric aspect. In Ubud, where old-style customs are still maintained, I was told of the procedure by which a *mapadik* marriage is consummated, a description which agrees with that given by De Kat Angelino in his *Huwelijksrecht*:[8]

585

. . . The girl is dressed and then wrapped in yards of cloth like a mummy, until she is unable to move. She is locked in the *metén* from the inside with a number of female attendants. The

[8] Quoted by Korn in *Het Adatrecht van Bali*.

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after them, chasing them far into the road, and if he captures one, carries him back to the dancing-place and gives the money to his frightened victim. I asked repeatedly for the significance of this curious character, but I never received a satisfactory explanation. The *pengedjokan's* other names are Djero Dalam Pegék and Djero Dalam Truna (*truna:* bachelor), perhaps derived from some authentic character, a bachelor king of legend who liked children, but frightened them because of his appearance. To be a bachelor after middle age is considered abnormal in Bali. The mask is very holy, or rather has magic power, and no one would dream of selling it. In general a good set of *topéng* masks is a treasure, since only the bests sculptors can make them. Learned Balinese have a high regard for the *topéng* as an art.

THE BALINESE OPERA: THE ARDJA

A performance by a good *ardja* ensemble is a social event in the village. It is at *ardja* shows that young people meet and love affairs are started, helped by the romantic atmosphere of the love stories and the late hours. The performance never begins before midnight, and the villagers wait patiently, gossiping, flirting, listening to music, or munching peanuts until the actors have eaten their interminable dinner and are finally dressed.

The play begins with the appearance of the *tjondong*, the female attendant of the *putri*, the eternal princess. The part of the *tjondong* is usually played by a middle-aged, homely, male actor dressed as a girl, who walks in an effeminate way, singing praises to his mistress and begging her to come out. She is finally persuaded; the curtains of the little booth at the end of the dancing-space part and the much heralded beauty appears. In progressive *ardjas* she may be a young girl dressed in gold, with a great flower head-dress; but generally beautiful young girls cannot sing very well and in "good" *ardjas* the part is played by a male actor famous for his high falsetto. Slowly the two work their way across the stage, dancing and posturing, the

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

626 This is part of the old village law, now taken over by the courts—a sort of
586 punishment and compensation for disturbing the "balance" of the social
587 group. I have known a case of an unusually fickle woman, who passed from one husband to another in such rapid succession that none had had time to pay for her before being deserted. Husband No. 4 found himself sued for a sum in which each of her previous husbands had a share: No. 4 was to pay No. 3, who owed No. 2, who still had not paid No. 1. The father also had a claim, but with faint hopes of recovery.

586 A wife who is maltreated by her husband has the option of returning to her family, where she will be graciously received if they do not consider her in the wrong. At the present time, if she can prove her husband's delinquency in the courts, she may obtain some right over the children. However, even under the old regime, a husband has been known to allow the wife to bring up the children in a separate establishment, although they are considered chiefly his, and the descendants of his ancestral line.

583 There was the case of a girl for whom a marriage was arranged with her cousin, the son of her father's elder brother. Her father had died, leaving
● 584 his wife with four girls and a baby boy, and no one to provide for them. The cousin's branch owned house and land, whereas the girl's family had nothing, not even the space on which their house stood. Her father had occupied the land as tenant-farmer to the Tjokordā, and after his death, as there was no man left to till it, the land was forfeit. Obviously the marriage of the eldest daughter to her cousin would have been advantageous, and all her relations urged her to agree to it. The wealthy branch could have advanced the money needed to buy the land on which her house stood, and thus saved the house for her mother and sisters, and eventually a heritage for the small brother. But the girl resisted all persuasion to the match. Finally the grandmother resorted to a ruse. She came to the girl, asking her to prepare medicine for her cousin, lying ill with a fever. The girl collected the necessary herbs and spices, pounded them together, and brought them to her cousin's house. Although she hated him, she could
[602] not refuse to help a relative in illness.

"He lies within," said the grandmother, indicating the metèn, the room enclosed with walls. "Take it in to him."

The girl entered the room. At once the old woman pulled the door to, and bolted it on the outside. The young man leapt up from the couch to embrace his unwilling bride.

583 For several days the girl was kept a prisoner. When they began to relax
586 their vigilance, she ran away, but her cousins always pursued her, and brought her back. They believed that once used to the young man, she

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontalo OG4
Bali OF7
Java OE1

3. *Other forms.*—Among the Minahasa, the tie which binds the father to his child is confirmed by him through an adat present, called "lilikur," to the mother of the child. In like manner, the bond between a foster parent and an adopted child is sometimes established by a present.

Numerous other customs are based on the idea that the transfer of some tangible goods effects a desired connection between two persons at the time of the transfer. The small present (usually in the form of food), which accompanies a petition to a person in power or authority, and which in Western eyes is too frequently looked upon as a bribe, is to be understood in this wise. The lawsuit deposit or present, which the plaintiff adds to his claim, is another instance. These presents pave the way for the establishment of the desired temporary arrangement, and lay the course down which the decision can come.

The sharecropper's payment of "srama" (see p. 120), can be linked to this institution. The acceptance of the "srama" obligates the receiver to give an answer or render a decision to the petitioner's desire to use his land, even though it be a negative one. The "srama" is not always the same as the "panjer," but it is certainly closely related to it; magically at least, it seems to be the same.

In the case of the "panjer," the visible token follows the agreement and makes it mutually binding. In the case of the present, which accompanies a petition, acceptance obligates an answer, and sometimes, if it be an invitation, it obligates consent. This may possibly be true of a "srama," too. And the giving of presents also has some compulsion in it.

A concrete token can also be used to bind yourself to decisions formulated in your absence. In Bali, a person who is detained from going to the desa meeting, can give his kris to some member of the nuclear village to take along as a proxy. So the Balinese widow employs the kris of her dead husband to represent him when adopting a child for him after his death. In Java, a prince may marry a concubine *in absentia* by having himself represented by an official to whom he gives his personal kris to be taken along for the occasion. The great lords of Mandar, in South Celebes, magically bind a girl to themselves by sending her a kris. If the girl wishes to be free again, she has to be "bought loose."

4. *Prohibitory symbols.*—The visible symbol which establishes the relation of a person to land or to a tree is of similar nature. Positively, it establishes a legal tie between the object and its maker,

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Toradja OG11 Atjehnese OD4 Bali OF7
Halmahera OH12 Gorontolo OG4 Kei OH13
Javanese OE5 Mori-Laki OG7 Batak OD5
Sundanese OE7 Minangkabau OD10

I 177 585 771

The marriage ceremonies are universally charged with primitive and animistic ideas and customs. But they are also a point of contact for the revealed religions of Islam and Christianity, each of which influences marriage law and customs in its own way.

JE I 584

1. PRELIMINARIES TO MARRIAGE

a. *Marriage by proposal.* (Mominang in Malay; nglamar in Javanese.)—This form occurs generally throughout Indonesia. One party, usually that of the boy, invites the other party to consummate a marriage by giving an offering of betel (sirih). Such a proposal is almost always conveyed by an envoy or representative, who uses many flowery expressions and metaphors. The parties to the negotiations may be the extended families, the parents with the family group, or the parents alone, in concert with the marriageable pair. It is reported over and over that the future partners to the marriage may have a decisive say in the matter. The data on this point are given in detail for most law-areas.

GK ML T Bt I 584 431 675

If the proposal is accepted, this does not usually lead directly to marriage. There is first a betrothal in which the parties to the engagement bind themselves many times over to conclude the marriage. Usually, but not necessarily, the marriage date is set at betrothal, and the amount of marriage payments and the penalty for breaking the engagement are agreed upon. The agreement becomes binding only when the engagement present is handed over. The gift goes to the extended family, or the parents, or the woman. Sometimes this binder is given to the woman by the man, but among the Bataks, Minangkabauans, most Dyaks, some Torajas and the To Mori, both parties exchange them. The engagement binder appears to be unknown among the Minahasans.

MK S JE H K At 584 675

Among the Atjeh the betrothal present is called "tanda kong narit," the sign that the agreement is in effect. In Nias is is "bobo mibu," a kind of hair band. On the Mentawei Islands it is called "sesere," a derivative of "sere," to bind. In South Celebes it is "passikkoq," derived from "sikkoq," which also means to bind. Among the Tobelo in Halmahera it is known as "tapu," anchor. The Kei Islanders call it "mas aye," binding gold. In Javanese, the present is called "panjer" and "panjerset," means of binding. In Sundanese the word is "panyangchang," which also means binder.

Bl I 584 675 431

In scattered instances, the meaning of the gift seems to be somewhat different, and so its name has a different origin. In Bali, the betel, which is a part of the gift, is called "base panglarang," the

means of preventing (anyone else from marrying the girl), although the entire present is simply called "paweweh," gift. In the Balinese village of Tnganan Pagringsingan betrothal is called "masawen"—the attachment of a prohibitory mark through the offering of betel. 584• 675 431

In isolated instances, the ornament, which is given to the girl's parents at betrothal, is returned after the marriage takes place. This makes it an engagement pledge among the Korinchi. The "tanga rasan" (marriage pledge) of the Rejangs is the first instalment of the marriage present given to the woman. If she refuses, it must be returned; hence it is also called "gadai" (pledge). R I 584 675

There is an element of magical effect in all the giving of engagement binders. No doubt there is a trend toward a diminution of belief in the magic consequences, so that the "tanda" takes on instead the quality of proof that the engagement actually took place. I [789] I [178]

In the event minors are being engaged, their parents or family headmen naturally act for them. Adults, who are being engaged, usually are permitted a say in the proceedings. I [676 858]

There are many motives behind engagement. A person wants to make sure of a good marriage before long. Sometimes he gets help from a future son-in-law. Where girls are permitted free sexual licence before they become engaged, there may be a desire to withdraw this privilege from a girl as soon as possible. I 584 [836]

Betrothal is usually marked by a feast attended by members of the extended families. The village chiefs are usually informed of the engagement, so as to bring the community officially into the new legal act. Thus the parties are assured of legal protection through the cooperation of the chiefs. I [622] JE Bl

Engagement, and especially the engaged girl, is variously called "tunangan" (Malay), "pachangan" (Javanese), and in Bali, "bunching." Among the Ngaju Dyaks, infant betrothal of a girl to a particular boy is known as "mamupuh." This is, in fact, a sort of preliminary engagement. Ng [584]

In some law-areas there is an unusual form, which can be called "pressure proposal." Among the Ngaju Dyaks, for example, the boy climbs up on the house of the girl with a valuable present. He will not remove himself until she gives her consent to marriage, or buys him off with a forfeit of equal value. Marriage follows hard after, without an engagement period. Ng [584 431]

Sometimes a pregnant girl will force a marriage by locking her swain within her house, and publicly displaying gifts. I [836]